

## Language Contact in Qumul\*

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

At the eastern edge of the Tianshan mountains in modern-day China's Xinjiang Autonomous Region, Qumul (Hami) has been a major gateway between Central Asia and inner China since at least the first century. It has been a major channel through which have passed untold numbers of invaders in both directions, as well as merchants, soldiers, officials, merchants, proselytizers of religion, convicts, and exiles. Over the centuries, Qumul has had repeated influxes of new settlers, both by peoples fleeing conflict elsewhere in the region (e.g. the Orxon Uyghur-Turks in the 8th-9th centuries and the Altay Qazaqs in the 18th-20th centuries) and by peoples who were forcibly resettled there in military agricultural *tuntian* 屯田 colonies (especially the Han Chinese during the Qing dynasty). Modern Qumul has seen a dramatic increase in its population, primarily from Han Chinese settlers from all over China.<sup>1</sup>

These population changes and historical upheavals have had a significant impact on the linguistic picture of the region. This paper examines the effects of sustained language contact between speakers of Northern Chinese, Uyghur, Qazaq, Mongolian, and other languages.

Qumul Chinese and Qumul Uyghur share many areal linguistic features but also show a strong tendency to preserve medieval features of each language family. What is striking is the degree to which Qumul Chinese and Uyghur have *not* influenced each other. While the two languages do share certain features of vocabulary and phonology, they exhibit a parallel but separate development.

### 2. QUMUL CHINESE

#### 2.1. Context

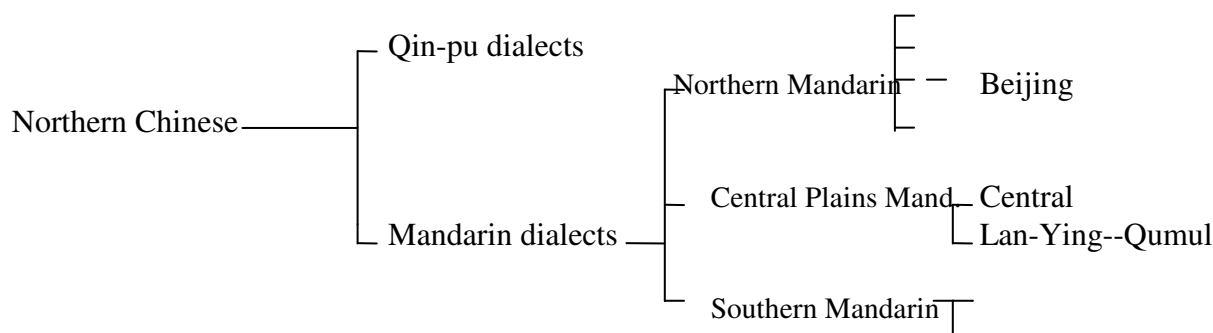
Qumul/Hami, as the “Gateway to the Central Plains” (*zhongyuan menhu* 中原門戶), was not even partly Chinese-speaking until Han times. Since the time of Han Wudi, the Gansu oases along the Hexi corridor have had a large Han population integral to the Han dynasties' defense. With the establishment of military-agricultural *tuntian* colonies, forced migrations occurred en masse from the Central Plains regions of China (present-day Henan, Hebei, and Shandong) to Inner Mongolia, Ningxia, and Gansu, as far as Qumul/Hami. The Hans of precommunist China in Hami were most all descendants of these *tuntian* people; those that came as merchants were largely from Hunan, Sichuan, Shaanxi, Gansu, and Tianjin. After 1949, large numbers of Hans arrived from all over inner China. The Xinjiang vernacular of Northwest Chinese, including that of Qumul/Hami, was “likely [a] dialectal amalgam ... [that was] probably very strongly influenced by Central Plains forms of Chinese.” (Coblin: 7). Central Plains Mandarin essentially follows the course of the Yellow River plus the areas into which the Han expanded: western Shandong, Henan, mid- and southwestern Shaanxi (the *Central* subgroup), plus Gansu, Qinghai,

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<sup>1</sup> The 1989 population of the Hami district (*diqu*) included 29 official minority nationalities (*minzu*); the most numerous were Han 268,500; Uyghur 84,800; Qazaq 39,000; and Hui 12,700 (Wang Huafei et al.: 502).

Ningxia, and Xinjiang (the *Lan-Ying* subgroup). Qumul Chinese is part of the North Xinjiang section of Lan-Ying Mandarin, (*Lan-ying Guanhua, Beijiāng pian*) (Zhang: 3). Qumul Chinese can thus be situated within the Northwestern Chinese dialects as follows:



[adapted from Li Rong 1985, cited in Liu Xunning 1995: 453]

The language of the Central Plains region is crucial to understanding the development of Northern Chinese (including standard Mandarin), since here were located here the most important premodern capitals of Chang'an, Luoyang, Kaifeng. The common language of the late Tang dynasty was Northwestern Chinese, and phonological and lexical elements from this period are preserved in geographically marginal modern varieties such as Qumul Chinese.

As expected from a peripheral language variety, Qumul Chinese tends both towards conservation and innovation. Qumul's geographic and political position between the Turkic and the Chinese worlds<sup>2</sup> has affected the language and culture of those who live there. The Chinese settlers of this area adopted a measure of local Mongolic, Turkic, and Tibetan customs and material culture to the extent that "they were viewed as 'barbarized' and unreliable by the Chinese government and official class" (Fairbank and Twitchett: 433-34).

The Chinese spoken in the modern, politically-defined Hami area (*Hami diqu* 哈密地區), is referred to as "the Hami dialect" (*Hami fangyan* 哈密方言), is spoken in the city of Hami and also a mountain range away in Yiwu county. Yiwu Chinese was once more conservative of Middle Chinese features; any more conservative variety (such as Yiwu) is often referred to as "the Hami vernacular" (*Hami tuhua* 哈密土話). In the last decades all varieties of Qumul Chinese are converging to some extent with standard Mandarin, particularly among those under age fifty. In particular, Qumul Chinese has assimilated much of the standard Chinese phonetic system, lexicon, and grammar, while having preserved certain phonological processes, the tone system, and morphology from premodern Northwest Chinese.

## 2.2 QUMUL CHINESE ARCHAISMS

- Initial  $\eta$ - [ŋaŋ] 'peace' 安 is preserved in words with *kaikou* 開口 finals: -an, -ɤ, -ɛ, -ɔ, -ɤ u, -ɤŋ, -aŋ. Exclamations are excepted, as can be seen in the zero initial in ε 'Ai! (regret)' 唉.

<sup>2</sup> Politically Qumul has alternated between an eastwards orientation towards China and a westwards orientation towards the Turkic-speaking world. During the Tang dynasty, Qumul/Hami was part of the Eastern Turki (*Huihe* 回紇) kingdom; during the Yuan dynasty it was called Hamili and belonged to Gansu. During the Ming, it was once again westwards-oriented as part of Turfan. In 1696 the "Hui part" of Hami (*Hami Huibu* 哈密回部 i.e., the Uyghurs) submitted to the Qing dynasty and the Uyghur ruler Abdulla (Ch. *Ebeidula*) was installed as the Hami Hui king. From this time on Qumul has remained politically oriented towards China.

- The Middle Chinese palatal nasal  $\eta$  is preserved syllable-initially before the high front vowels  $i$  and  $y$ :  $\eta$ ian ‘year’ 年;  $\eta$ y ‘female’ 女;  $\eta$ i (cf. Beijing  $i$ ) ‘suspect/suspicion’ 疑;  $\eta$ iv (BJ  $i\epsilon$ ) ‘work, occupation’ 業;  $\eta$ io (BJ  $iao$ ) (exclamation) 喲.

- Partial retroflex spirant series

In Qumul Chinese, only part of the Middle Chinese alveo-palatal spirant series has split into three series (alveo-palatal, palatal, and retroflex) as in modern standard Chinese. The remaining spirants<sup>3</sup> preserve the Middle Chinese initials (Zhang 1996):

Table 1. Some Northern Chinese spirant initials

Beijing	Beijing	Qumul	Beijing	Beijing	Qumul
$\text{t}\text{ʃ}^{\text{l}}_{55}$ 知 ‘know’	$\text{ts}^{\text{l}}_{55}$ 資 ‘capital’	$\text{ts}^{\text{l}}_{55}$ 知, $\text{ts}^{\text{l}}_{55}$ 資	$\text{t}\text{ʃ}^{\text{l}}_{55}$ ‘station’ 站	$\text{ts}^{\text{l}}_{55}$ ‘praise’ 贊	$\text{ts}^{\text{l}}_{213}$ 站, $\text{ts}^{\text{l}}_{55}$ 贊
$\text{t}\text{ʃ}^{\text{h}}_{\text{an}24}$ 產 ‘produce’	$\text{ts}^{\text{h}}_{\text{an}55}$ 參 ‘participate’	$\text{ts}^{\text{h}}_{\text{an}51}$ 產, $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}_{\text{an}55}$ 參	$\text{ʃ}^{\text{h}}_{\text{an}55}$ ‘mountain’ 山	$\text{san}_{55}$ ‘three’ 三	$\text{san}_{55}$ 山, $\text{san}_{55}$ 三

- Qumul Chinese, like other varieties of Northwest Chinese tends to preserve MC monophthongs (and diphthongs), whereas BJ has diphthongs and triphthongs.

The table below compares five Middle Chinese finals (rhymes) of the *Qieyun* rhyme tables and reconstructions of Old Northwest Chinese with the same finals in modern Qumul and Beijing Chinese. The right-hand side of the table has examples of lexemes with the five finals; selected reflexes in some other modern northwestern Chinese vernaculars have been included in the rightmost column. (Qumul Chinese (=Qum.) data from Zhang 1996; Middle Chinese (=MC) (from the *Qieyun* rhyme book), reconstructions of Old Northwest Chinese (=ONWC), and selected modern dialect forms (DH=Dunhuang, LZ=Lanzhou, XN=Xining) data from Coblin 1994. Tones have been omitted.)

Table 2. Old Northwest Chinese, Qumul, and Beijing finals

MC	ONWC	Qum.	Beij.	ONWC	Qum.	Beij.	gloss	other NWC
a, a:	*ä	a	ia	*yä	xa	ɕia	‘descend’	XN xa~ɕia
uk	*uk	u	ou	*dz’uk	ʃu	ʃou/ ʃu	‘cooked’	DH ʃu
âk, uo-, â-	*ak	u	uo	*tsak	tsu	ts <sup>h</sup> uo	‘make’	DH tsuə
.âi	*ai	ɛ	ai	*lai	lɛ	lai	‘come’	XN, DH lɛ
je:	*e	i	ei	*be	pi	pei	‘coverlet’	DH, LZ, XA pi

Where Beijing has the diphthongs *ia*, *ou*, *uo*, *ai*, and *ei*, Qumul has the monophthongs *a*, *u*, *u*, *ɛ*, and *i*, respectively. The first three Qumul monophthongs reflect simplex vowels in Middle Chinese; most varieties of Northwestern Chinese, including Qumul, did not undergo velar palatalization nor the concomitant diphthongization (as in ‘descend’).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Those spirants preserving the Middle Chinese initials belong to the *èr deng yùn*, the second category of finals in the Song dynasty *Qìyèyùn* rhyme table.

<sup>4</sup> When a palatalized~non-palatalized alternation exists in a given variety of Northern Chinese (e.g. Xining xa~ɕia 下 ‘descend’ and Beijing ʃu~ʃou 熟 ‘cooked; ripe’), most often it is the colloquial alternate that is non-palatalized and preserves the Middle Turkic monophthong.

## 2.3 INNOVATIONS IN QUMUL CHINESE

- Rarely, the phoneme *z* occurs in onomatopoeic words: *zɔ* ‘happy, comfortable’; *zɪŋ* ‘ache from jumping’; *zur* ‘the whoosh of bullets’. With such a limited distribution, *z* is, however, a marginal phoneme.
- A reduction in tonal categories: while Middle Chinese had four tone categories, as in many other Northwest dialects Qumul Chinese only has three: *yáng píng* 陽平, *shàng* 上, and *qù* 去 (with tonal values of 55, 51, and 213, respectively).<sup>5</sup>
- *l : n* As in other Northwest Chinese vernaculars, a subset of Middle Chinese *n*-initial lexemes have initial *l* in Qumul: *luŋ* 農 (BJ *noŋ*) ‘agriculture’; *luɣ* 糯 (BJ *nuo*) ‘glutinous’; *lo* (BJ *nau*) 淖 ‘mire’; *lyɣ~ʔu* (BJ *nyɛ*) 虐 ‘tyrannical’; 瘧 ‘malaria’.

Other varieties of Northwest Chinese have been more resistant to superstratal influence from standard Mandarin, retaining typically northwestern features such as an SOV constituent order, postpositional morphology (via earlier contact with Turkic, Mongolic, and Manchu-Tungusic, as has been amply demonstrated elsewhere<sup>6</sup>), and an abundance of Middle Chinese lexemes, even in regional varieties of standard Mandarin (e.g. *Qingpuhua* 青譜話, ‘Qinghai standard language’). The lack of resistance of Qumul Chinese to standard Mandarin is no doubt due to the post-1949 massive influx of Han Chinese settlers from all over China to Qumul.

## 3. QUMUL UYGHUR

### 3.1. CONTEXT

The Qumul Uyghurs were and are located at a major cultural and linguistic crossroads, yet at the same time at the margins of the main Uyghur-speaking area. Qumul was part of the Buddhist former Uyghur (Ch. *Huihe*) kingdom during the Tang dynasty, and far away from the Qaraqanid presence in the southern Tarim Basin.

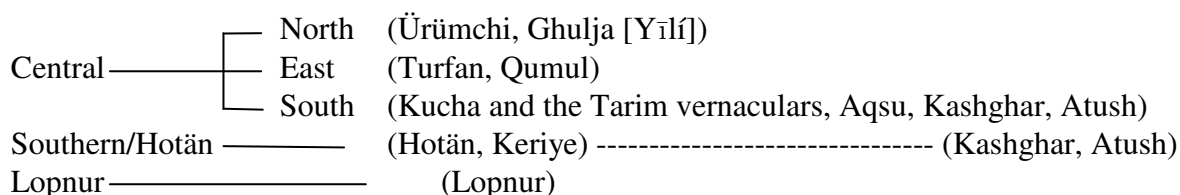
Like other languages in contact situations that are isolated from the main group, Qumul Uyghur has both preserved older Eastern Turkic features now lost in modern Standard Uyghur, and developed a number of contact-induced innovations.

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<sup>5</sup> Qumul Chinese *shàng* tone (51) corresponds to Beijing *yángpíng* (24) and *shàng* (213). The schematic tonal development of Qumul Chinese (QC) from Middle Chinese (MC) is as follows: MC *píng*, voiceless > QC *yángpíng* (with exceptions); MC *píng*; voiced > QC *shàng* (e.g. 家 ‘house’, 田 ‘field’); MC *píng* semivoiced > QC *shàng* (拿 ‘take’, 模 ‘steamed bun’); MC *shàng* voiceless, semivoiced > QC *shàng* (果 ‘fruit’, 馬 ‘horse’); MC *rù* 入 > QC *shàng* (急 ‘anxiety’, 紅 ‘red’); MC *qù* > QC *qù*; MC *rù* > QC *qù*; MC *shàng* voiced > QC *qù* ‘persimmon’ (Zhang: 121-122).

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Ma Shujun 1984. Hanyu Hezhou hua yu Aertaiyuyan, *Minzu yuwen* 2: 50-55; Li, Charles. ed. 1975. *Word Order and Word Order Change*. Austin: U Texas Press; Dwyer, Arienne 1992. Altaic Elements in the Línxià dialect: Contact-induced Change on the Yellow River Plateau. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 20.: 160-179.

*Uyghur dialects and vernaculars* (Osmanov 1990):



We know little about the origins of the Qumul Uyghurs, other than that they were likely Turkic-speakers. Historical accounts of the ninth-century Turfan kingdom describe the Qumul Turkic speakers with only ambiguous ethnonyms or geographic terms, i.e. “Qarluqs” (especially those in the Lapcuq area of Qumul), “Lopluqs” (i.e. from Lop Nur, especially those in the Qaradöwä area of Qumul), and “Chomän/Chomul” (those in the area of Töttügmän and Jigdäbulaq)<sup>7</sup>.

The local Turkic-speaking denizens of Qumul divide the Uyghurs of the area into two quasi-geographic groups, the *taghliq* ‘mountain folk’ and *yärlük* ‘locals’. Although the language of the Qumul Taghliq Uyghurs is more conservative and less subject to rapid change due to the influence of other languages, both varieties of Qumul Uyghur are similar enough to be considered as belonging to the same vernacular (Osmanov 1997: 15).

### 3.2 ARCHAISMS IN QUMUL UYGHUR

Qumul Uyghur preserves some older features no longer found in modern Standard Uyghur:

- The present-future tense preserves the Middle Turkic suffix *-adi-* (cf. Chagatay *-AdUr*): Qumul *baradimän~barimän*; ‘I go/will go’ cf. Std. Uy. *barimän*; Qumul *kilimiz~kilidimiz* ‘we come/will come’, cf. Std. Uy. *kelimiz*. Since Qumul has Standard-Uyghur-like alternates as well, it can be considered semi-conservative. Neighboring (and more conservative) Lopnur Uyghur has, in contrast, only the Middle Turkic *-AdI-* (< *-AdUr*) forms: Lopnur *baradimän, kelediwiiz* (Osmanov 1990: 92). Middle Turkic *-AdUr-* has also been preserved in Qazaq.
- A number of Qumul lexemes correspond closely with early written Turkic sources (e.g. al-Kashgari, Manichaean Uyghur), lexemes that are also preserved in Northeast and South Siberian Turkic languages (e.g. Yakut, Xaqas), yet not found in Standard Uyghur: *jamdaq* ‘broom’ < *?yamliγ*, cf. Early Written Turkic, Xaqas *ya:m* ‘piece of dust’, but Std. Uy. *süpürgä*; *ardī-* ‘to decay, go bad’, cf. Manichaean Uyghur *arta-* ‘to decay’, but Standard Uyghur *buzul-* ‘to decay, go bad; to be broken’. Despite a general trend in Uyghur dialects (including Qumul) to delete *r* before other consonants, Qumul preserves preconsonantal *r* in some lexemes, e.g. Qumul *jörtkε-* ‘transfer, shift’, Std. Uy. *jörtkε-* (yet not in all: Qumul *zader*, Std. Uy. *zardar* ‘wealthy person’).
- Present durative *-(i)jtt-*

The Qumul Uyghur durative suffix shows a contracted form of the Turkic verb *jat-* ‘to lie’ and the earlier Turkic durative auxiliary verb *tur-* ‘to stand’. In many of the languages in the eastern part of the Turkic world in *jat-* has superseded *tur-* (e.g. Atush Uy. *-°jat-*, Lopnur Uy. *-°wjat-*,

<sup>7</sup> Osmanov 1997: 12-13. Cf. also Su Beihai (n.d., n.p.), Hami, Tulufan Weiwuer wang de lishi.

Std. Uy. -<sup>o</sup>wat-, Qaz. dʒat-); that traces of both verbs remain indicates that Qumul Uyghur is in this respect one of the most conservative of the Uyghur vernaculars.

*Table 3. Durative present in Qumul and Standard Uyghur (Osmanov 1990)*

<i>Qumul Uyghur</i>	<i>Standard Uyghur</i>	<i>gloss</i>
oqu-jtt-imän	oqu-wat-imän	‘I am reading/studying’
kør-ijtt-imε(n)	kør-ywat-imən	‘I am reading/studying’
bo(l-i)jtt-u [bojttu]	bol-uwat-idu	‘I am becoming’
ki(l-i)jtt-u [kijttu]	kel-iwat-idu	‘I am coming’

#### INNOVATIONS IN QUMUL UYGHUR

- Qumul *g* : Std. Uy. *w*

Qumul and Turfan Uyghur are well-known for their velar-bilabial consonant alternation, in which Qumul and Turfan *g* (or *ɣ*) corresponds to Standard Uyghur *w* in syllable-initial position. The alternation occurs most frequently before the vowels *a* and *ε*, and largely in Arabic or Persian loanwords.

*Table 4. Syllable-initial g in Qumul Uyghur*

<i>source</i>	<i>Std Uyghur</i>	<i>Qumul Uyghur</i>	<i>gloss</i>
Persian <i>miva</i>	miwε	møgε	‘fruit’
Arabic <i>dʒevab</i>	dʒawap	dʒagap	‘answer’
Chinese <i>wang</i>	waŋ	gaŋ	‘king’

In Standard Uyghur there are some examples of *w* > *g* intervocalically, e.g. *tögä* ‘camel’ (cf. OT <täbä>). Interestingly, Qumul does not show the *g*-alternation for this lexeme: *tεwε* ‘id.’. The alternation also occurs in Kucha and Ghulja Uyghur, though it is weaker. Cross-linguistically such an alternation is not uncommon, e.g. in Indo-European (English *war*, Persian *gär*).

- Vowel Raising

Diachronically, Qumul Uyghur vowel-raising rules are more restrictive than in the standard language. In Standard Uyghur, unstressed *a* and *ä* in open syllables are raised to *i* or to *ø* (the latter with front rounded stems). In Qumul Uyghur, although nonround stems also show *a* > *i* (e.g. Qumul *hepiz* (Std. *hapiz*) < *hafiz* ‘protector’), rounded stems behave differently. *a* is raised to *o*, but not *ä* to *ø*, hence Qumul *ojup* (cf. Std. Uy. *ayup*) (personal name); *bεfik* (Chaghatay *bεfik*, but Std. Uy. *bøfyk*) ‘cradle’; and *tεwε* (*tøgε*) ‘camel’.

The non-round variant of vowel-raising is rather common in other Uyghur dialects (e.g. Lopnur /ε/ > [E], [e]; Xotän /ε/ > [ʌ]; in Qumul Uyghur, *a* > *i* diachronically occurs more commonly than in the standard variety (e.g. Qumul *jīyaf* ‘wood’, Std. Uy. *jaɣatʃ*), and occurs synchronically even in closed syllables (Qumul *mijli* ‘whatever, all right’, Std. Uy. *mεjli* (Osmanov 1997: 26-28).

- Genitive *-ni*

Although Standard Uyghur preserves the Old Turkic genitive suffix *-niŋ*, Qumul has *-ni*, a shortened form that appeared first in Middle Turkic (cf. Chagatay *-ni/nī*) and is found in some modern languages such as Qarachay and Uzbek dialects. Salar also has such a form. Qumul Uyghur *mini jirim* ‘my place’, cf. Std.Uy. *meniŋ jerim*.

- Interrogative pronoun clitic *-Do*:

A relatively unusual feature of Qumul Uyghur is the cliticization of the Middle Turkic defective copula *Dur* (> Qumul *-do/to*) to interrogative pronouns:

Table 5: Cliticized *Dur* (> *Do*) in Qumul Uyghur

Qumul Uyghur	Std. Uyghur	Qumul Uyghur	Std. Uyghur
kimdo	kim	nədo	nε, qεjer
qεjyzido	qajaqta	nimido	nemε
qəsido	qajsi	netto	nε, qεjer

In another Chinese Turkic language, Salar, *Dur* (> Salar *du*) appears as an utterance-final clitic marking evidentiality. In Qazaq and Qirghiz, as in Qumul, *Dur* has been cliticized to interrogative pronouns; yet in Qazaq and Qirghiz, these are functionally and semantically distinct as indefinite pronouns, e.g. (*bir*) *kimdir* ‘someone’. This lexicalization process has not (or not yet) proceeded so far in Qumul Uyghur, where the clitic appears to have no semantic-pragmatic function.

- weakening of /p/ > /w/

Intervocally *p* has been weakened to *w*: Qumul *qawartqu* (Std. Uy. *qapartqu*) ‘blister’; Qumul *køwyk* (Std. Uy. *køpyk* cf. Qaz. *købik*) ‘foam, froth’ (Osmanov 1990). This is also a feature of South-Siberian Turkic, Qipchaq, and Sarıgh Yoghur (SY *kyvyk~kevek~kyk* ‘foam’).

- High-vowel devoicing is more restricted than in other Uyghur dialects

The high vowels *i*, *u*, and *y* are devoiced between voiceless consonants in unstressed syllables (where vowel-initial lexemes have a prothetic initial glottal stop): *.iʃ* ‘matter, affair’; *upa* ‘face powder’; *iʃek* ‘donkey’; *piʃ-* ‘to be cooked/ripe’; *suq-* ‘to conceal’; *tykyr-* ‘to vomit’. Unlike Standard Uyghur, however, devoicing does not occur, however, when the following consonant is an affricate<sup>8</sup>: *.iʃ-* ‘to drink’ but *iʃip* ‘drink-GER’; *.uʃ-* ‘to fly’ but *uʃup* ‘fly-GER’; *ɣʃ* ‘three’ but *yʃi* ‘three-IIIp.sg.’ (data from Osmanov 1997: 29). In Standard Uyghur, by contrast, all of the above gerundial and non-gerundial forms have devoiced initial vowels. There are a few exceptions where devoicing in Qumul Uyghur does not occur as expected, e.g. *piʃa:nε* ‘at noontime prayer’ (Std. Uy. *peʃin*), perhaps due to stress falling on the following syllable

<sup>8</sup> This analysis is based on the limited data in Osmanov 1997: 29. He offers a different analysis: that high vowels are devoiced word-initially before voiceless consonants in monosyllabic words, and devoiced between voiceless consonants in multisyllabic words.

(*piʃa:nɛ*) due to vowel length.

#### 4. THE MONGOLIAN LINGUISTIC PRESENCE

The Chinggisid Mongols dominated the Qumul gateway to Turkestan from the 13th to 15th century, and the Oirat Mongols between the mid-15th and mid-17th centuries. Despite nearly four centuries of Mongol control of the area, the linguistic influence of Mongolian on Qumul Uyghur and Chinese is limited largely to the lexicon.

Mongolian influence on Qumul Uyghur phonology and on the syntax of Northwest Chinese in general is highly likely but difficult to present unique evidence for. Qumul Uyghur vowels, for example, exhibits stronger rounding harmony than in most other Uyghur dialects; unlike in e.g. Standard Uyghur, the mid-high round vowels *o*, *ø* are permitted in non-initial syllables (data from Osmanov 1997: 37):

*Table 6. Rounding harmony of mid vowels in Qumul Uyghur*

<i>Qumul Uy.</i>	<i>Std Uy.</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>Qumul Uy.</i>	<i>Std Uy.</i>	<i>gloss</i>
oron	orun	‘place’	uzon	uzun	‘long’
bojon	bojun	‘neck’	xoton	xotun	‘woman’
buron	burun	‘nose; before’	qoʷon	qoʷun	‘Hami melon’

This appears to be largely a diachronic process evident in stems, and is no longer productive in the suffixes of the modern language: the Qumul Uyghur suffix -GOn (-gøn/køn/qon/ʁon), for example, corresponds to the Standard Uyghur second-person hortative -GIIn (qin/kin/kün/ʁun/gün) (Qumul *tashqon*, *turʁon*; Std. *tashqin*, *turʁun* ‘throw!’, ‘stand!’). What is reflected in the difference between the Standard and Qumul Uyghur suffixes are two different developments in vowel harmony: (1) *i* > *u* and *a* > *o* (as in Old Turkic *qoʷan* > *qoʷon* ‘hare’, cf. Mo. *oran*, Std. Uy. *orun* ‘place’); and then (2) the suppletion of *o* with *u* and *i* in a number of Turkic languages such as Standard Uyghur. The second development is not evident in modern Qumul Uyghur.

Mid-high round vowel harmony also occurs in certain Qipchaq languages, such as Qirghiz where it is evident both in stems (*qutu* ‘small box’, cf. Qazaq *kutı*, Std. Uy. *quta*, Tksh. *kutu*) and in suffixes (*qoldof* ‘comrade’, cf. Qazaq *qoldas*, Std. Uy. *joldas*). Mid-vowel rounding harmony is also a feature of Lopnur Uyghur to the southwest; unlike in Qumul, however, the process is fully productive: Lopnur *øtkørmø*, *øtkørmøʎor* ‘large grain sieve’, *øtkørmøʎorgø* ‘large grain sieve-pl., -pl-dat.’, cf. Std. Uy. *øtkε:mε*, *øtkε:miler*, *øtkε:milerge*, Qumul *bolmoʁon* ‘not having been/ become’, *bolmo-ʁonlorʁo* ‘to those who were not (there)’, cf. Std. Uy. *bolmivan*, *bolmivan-larʁa* (data from Osmanov (forthcoming): 45). Mid-high round vowel harmony is also found in Mongolian stems and suffixes (*xørøø* ‘saw’; *øør-øø* ‘oneself’).

Mid-high round vowel harmony is thus a feature shared by Qumul Uyghur, Lopnur Uyghur, Qirghiz, and Mongolian. In Qumul Uyghur it is only a diachronic process, whereas in the other languages varieties it exhibits varying degrees of synchronic productivity. The original source language for this feature is most likely Mongolian, since contact was so prolonged. It should be noted that all four groups were in mutual contact historically (the Uyghurs in the Qaradöwä area of Qumul apparently stem from the Lopluqs, the Lopnur Turks (Osmanov 1997: 12)).

At the syntactic level, contact-induced change between Mongolic and Qumul Uyghur is moot, since Turkic and Mongolic share such a long intertwined history and are so typologically



similar. Mongolian, together with Turkic and Manchu-Tungusic, has certainly influenced Northwest Chinese syntax, as mentioned above.

The lexical influence of Mongolian on Qumul Uyghur is relatively strong, given the presence of a number of everyday terms that are best attributed to Middle Mongolian, e.g. *firɛ* ‘table’, cf. Oirat *firɛ*, Daghur *firə*). Identifying and quantifying Mongolian loans is particularly thorny, given the difficulty in distinguishing “loanwords” from “native words” between Turkic and Mongolic (Abdulla and Hamut 1997, for example, list 252 “lexemes of Mongolic origin”). Still, many of these are also found in other Uyghur dialects, e.g. Qumul Uyghur, Std. Uy. *aran* ‘only, barely’. Mongolic lexical influence on Qumul Chinese, on the other hand, is negligible; *dábàn* ‘mountain’ (cf. Mo. *daba*.; Shera Yogur *dawa:n* ‘mountain range, mountain pass’) co-occurs with the Chinese lexeme *san*<sub>55</sub> 山.

## 5. QUASI-AREAL FEATURES (=INTERLINGUAL FEATURES)

In addition to the language-group internal tendencies towards conservation and innovation, Qumul Uyghur and Qumul Chinese both display a certain extent of cross-linguistic convergence. These areal features common to several of the region’s languages are the most relevant for language-contact studies. As is often true in language-contact situations (especially between genetically unrelated languages), the lexicon and the sound system are the first to show convergence. A closer look at the latter, however, reveals that Qumul Chinese phonology tends generally towards that of Mongolic and Turkic, and not specifically towards that of Qumul Uyghur.

### 5.1. THE LEXICON

As if words were goods in an economic exchange, all varieties of Xinjiang Chinese include what we might call “raw-material” loan lexemes (fruits and vegetable names, Islamic terms, some adverbs and adjectives) from local non-Chinese languages, while all Uyghur dialects have what could be termed “value-added goods” loans from Standard Chinese (technology, government). The varieties of Uyghur and Chinese spoken in Qumul have more loans of this sort than in sister vernaculars elsewhere in Xinjiang; because of the length of contact, Qumul Uyghur also has more pre-modern Chinese loans of the “raw-material” type.

Table 7. Uyghur loans into Qumul Chinese (Zhang 1996)

<i>Qumul Ch</i>	<i>Qumul Uy</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>Qumul Ch</i>	<i>Qumul Uy</i>	<i>gloss</i>
p <sup>h</sup> i <sub>51</sub> ja <sub>21</sub> ts <sub>21</sub>	p <sup>h</sup> ijaz	onion	k <sup>h</sup> a <sub>21</sub> k <sup>h</sup> a <sub>55</sub> ts <sub>21</sub>	q <sup>h</sup> aʁaz	certificate < paper
χɛ <sub>21</sub> mɛ <sub>55</sub> s <sub>21</sub>	hɛmmisi	all	pa <sub>21</sub> tsar <sub>51</sub>	bazar	market
ba <sub>55</sub> ji <sub>51</sub>	baj	rich person < rich	jan <sub>55</sub> tur <sub>21</sub>	janɖur-	to divorce < send back
χu <sub>51</sub> ʂ <sub>51</sub> na <sub>213</sub> lin <sub>51</sub>	hofna	neighbor <sup>9</sup>	jan <sub>21</sub> ts <sub>13</sub> jan <sub>21</sub> ts <sub>21</sub>	χilmu χil	colorful < all kinds

As can be seen above, the borrowing occurred at all levels of language, and in all but the second row, resulted in semantic narrowing. In Qumul Uyghur, loans from the superstrate language are numerous; what distinguishes Qumul from Standard Uyghur is a larger number of *premodern*

<sup>9</sup> Qumul Chinese also preserves Middle Chinese ‘neighbor’ as [kɛ<sub>55</sub>fan<sub>51</sub>].

Chinese loans, given their phonetic shape. Velars occur before high front vowels (in modern Northern Chinese these have been palatalized), and *rusheng* final stops are preserved.

Table 8. Chinese loans into Qumul Uyghur (Osmanov 1997)

Qumul Uy	Qumul Ch	Std Uy	gloss	Qumul Uy	Qumul Ch	Std Uy	gloss
mike	mɤ <sub>213</sub>	sijah	ink	kātu	tɤu <sub>55</sub> ; tsei <sub>55</sub> va <sub>21</sub> tsɿ <sub>21</sub>	oɤri	thief
xij	kɛ <sub>55</sub>	kotʃa	street; outside	xij qo(wu)q	ʧ <sup>h</sup> uaŋ <sub>55</sub>	derwaza	gate
nola-	nɔ <sub>213</sub>	muju-	make a fuss	xudura-	xu <sub>213</sub> t <sup>h</sup> u <sub>51</sub>	az-	be addled

‘Ink’ belongs clearly to the earlier Chinese loans into Qumul Uyghur as it preserves the final velar stop *k* of Middle Chinese (Qieyun *mok* 墨), and made conformant to Turkic syllable structure with an epenthesis final vowel. For ‘street’, Qumul Chinese preserves the Middle Chinese velar stop; cf. Qieyun *kai* 街, Salar *kai*, but modern Standard Chinese *tei*<sub>55</sub>. Qumul Uyghur preserves the velar, but it has been spirantized to *x*. This lexeme is also used to build Qumul Uy. *xij qo(wu)q* ‘gate’, from ‘street’ and Turkic ‘gate’. Standard Uyghur has *derwaza* ‘id.’ (< Persian); the Qumul Chinese is identical with that in Standard Chinese. Qumul Uyghur ‘thief’ is a now-unidentifiable premodern Chinese compound noun, the second syllable of which is clearly cognate to Qumul Chinese *tɤu*<sub>55</sub> modern Standard Chinese *t<sup>h</sup>u*<sub>55</sub> 偷. The last row above contains examples of Chinese verbs nativized with the Turkic verbalizing suffix -LA- (*nola-* < /no/ 鬧 + /LA-/ ‘make a fuss’; *xudura-* < /xutu/ 糊塗 + /LA-/ ‘be addled, confused’).

## 5.2. PHONOLOGY

- Consonants on syllable margins: optimization of CV structure?

The preferred syllable structure of Turkic is generally a consonant followed by a vowel. (Other common syllable types are V, VC, CVC, and CVXC (where X is a sonorant or a voiceless fricative, presumably from an earlier form CVCVC).<sup>10</sup> In modern Northern Chinese, syllable structure is restricted to (C)V(N), where N is either *n* or *ŋ*.

Syllable-finally, one areal tendency is clearly discernible: both Qumul Chinese and Qumul Uyghur delete syllable-final *n* (also -*ŋ* in Qumul Chinese); the feature [NASAL] spreads over the preceding vowel, and that vowel may be lengthened, i.e. (C)VN → (C)V(:). For example: Qumul Uyghur /nan/ → [nã] ‘nan (bread)’ /abdan/ → [abdã] ‘very well, fine’, cf. Std. Uy. *nan*, *obdan*; Qumul Chinese /tan/ → [tã<sub>213</sub>] ‘bullet’, /keŋ/ → [kɤŋ<sub>55</sub>] ‘root’; cf. Std. Ch. *tan*<sub>51</sub>, *kɤn*<sub>55</sub>.

This process occurs in Northwestern Chinese vernaculars from Xinjiang to eastern Gansu, and in languages which have had intensive contact with these: Salar (a Turkic language of Qinghai) and Santa (=Dongxiang, a Mongolic language of Gansu). Syllable-final nasal deletion in Qumul Uyghur and Chinese then reflects an areal tendency, in origin Chinese, towards an open CV syllable structure. Qumul Uyghur shows a synchronic tendency to delete pre-consonantal

<sup>10</sup> CVXC occurs under highly restricted conditions and is often subject to epenthesis, e.g. Std., Qum. Uy. *qiriq* < OT *qir̥q* ‘forty’, Std. Uy. *tiniŋ* ‘peaceful’ < *tinŋ*. The string CVXC (which was likely originally CVXVC) is preserved in many Turkic languages but altered in many others. Common consonant-cluster avoidance strategies include vowel epenthesis and the deletion of the first consonant (X). This can be observed in most modern Uyghur dialects both diachronically and synchronically, e.g. Std, Qum. Uy. *qiriq* < OT *qir̥q* ‘forty’, Std. Uy. *tiniŋ* ‘peaceful’ < *tinŋ*.

sonorants (as in Standard Uyghur), even across a syllable boundary (quite unlike Standard Uyghur): Qum.Uy. [qizi:juɤ̃], Std.Uy. [qizilju:ɤun] ‘Qizilyulghun’ (toponym).<sup>11</sup> In addition, syllable-final voiced velars *g* and *ɣ* are also deleted before sonorants when they do not follow high front vowels, e.g. Qumul Uy. [tʃa:la-] ‘to estimate, assess’, [a:ri-] ‘to be painful’, [ja:liq] ‘(hand)kerchief’, cf. Std. Uy. tʃa[ɣ]la-, a[ɣ]ri-, ja[ɣ]liq.

Word-initially, however, Qumul Uyghur and Chinese diverge: Qumul Chinese has increased its inventory of CV(X) syllables by consonant prothesis; Qumul Uyghur shows contradictory trends (both diachronic C-deletion and C-prothesis initially.) Qumul Chinese has prothesis of the semi-vowels (i.e. semi-consonants) [j], [ʔ] and [ʋ] (all are strongly spirantized)<sup>12</sup> before initial high vowels, corresponding to zero or semi-vowel initials *j*- and *w*- in modern standard Chinese.

[j-]	[jiã <sub>24</sub> ]	‘to act’, cf. Std. Ch. [ian <sub>213</sub> ]	演
[ʔ-]	[ʔy]	‘jade’, cf. Std. Ch. [jy <sub>51</sub> ]	玉
[ʋ-]	[ʋu <sub>51</sub> ]	‘five’, cf. Std. Ch. [wu <sub>213</sub> ]	五

This spirantization of initials is part of a broader trend in Northwestern Chinese towards spirantization of initial consonants: voiceless stops are affricated in the same environment (i.e., before high vowels, e.g. [kvu] 姑 ‘aunt (father’s sister)’; [kʰfu] 哭 ‘cry’; [pji] 比 ‘compare’ [pʰji] 皮 ‘skin’; [tʰχui] 腿 ‘foot, leg’ (cf. Std. Ch. *ku*, *kʰu*; *pi*, *pʰi*; *tʰuj*; tones omitted).

Qumul Uyghur shows both initial consonant prothesis and deletion processes common to many Turkic languages and unrelated to contact with Chinese. For example, Qumul Uyghur has a prothetic *h*- often in words of Arabic and Persian origin, much like the secondary *h*- in e.g. Gaga-uz: Qumul *heqil* ‘intelligence’, *hejderha~edgerha*, ‘dragon’, *homur* ‘life, fate’, *hezizla*- ‘to honor, respect’, *hejip* ‘fault, offense’, and even *hinε* ‘again’ (cf. Std. Uy. *eqil*, *edgdiha*, *omyr*, *ezizle*-, *ejib*, and *jεnε*).<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, many Qumul Uyghur lexemes with the Old Turkic initial *j*- have a zero initial, especially those from Old Turkic *jī*- (*jī*-~*ī*-, < \**hī*-, cf. Doerfer 1995): *id* ‘scent’; *yz* ‘face’, *ilik* ‘marrow’, *iltiz* ‘root’, *yt*-~*it*- ‘rip’, *ilan* ‘snake’, *ilqa* ‘colt, horse’, *ilwε*, *ilwiz* ‘leopard’ (cf. Std. Uy. *hid*, *jyz*, *jilik*, *jiltiz*, *jit*-, *jilan*, *jilqa*, *jilwa*, *jilpiz*).<sup>14</sup> This general absence of OT *j*- before *i/ī* is a feature shared by other vernaculars of Uyghur (Atush, Xotän, etc., but not by neighboring Turfan or Lopnur), and thus purely a phenomenon of variation internal to Turkic.

- sporadic ONWC \*-n, \*-m in Qumul Chinese and peripheral Mongolic

In Qumul Chinese, syllable-final *-n* has merged with *-ŋ* after *dz*, *i*, *u*, *y*, *uə*: [tɕiŋ] ‘gold’ < \**m* (cf. ONWC \**kim* 金 (Coblin), ‘capital’ 資; but [ʋɣŋ] ‘tepid’ < \**n* ONWC \* .ən 溫 and MC .uən 翁 ‘old man’. The latter may be due to labial-velar assimilation. Standard Chinese has *-n* for these lexemes. A parallel development has occurred in two peripheral Mongolic languages

<sup>11</sup> Diachronically, *r* in CVrC syllables is deleted sporadically: Qum.Uy. *zader*, cf. Std.Uy. *zɛrdar* ‘wealthy person’, but Qum.Uy. *jɔrtkε*-, Std. Uy. *jɔtkε*-.

<sup>12</sup> [j] is a palatal semi-vowel/semi-consonant corresponding to the Standard Chinese zero initial; [ʔ] a spirantized labial-palatal semi-vowel/semi-consonant corresponding to the Standard Chinese zero- or *j*-initial, and [ʋ] a labiodental corresponding to Standard Chinese [w-].

<sup>13</sup> There is a rarer countertrend of \**h*- > zero: *əl* ‘moist’, *araq* ‘liquor’, *ɛɛp* ‘bran’ (cf. Std. Uy. *həl*, *haraq*, *hɛɛp*).

<sup>14</sup> Old Turkic initial *jī*- surfaces as such (or as *ji*-) in exceptional cases: *jirik* ‘coarse, gross’, *jiriŋ* ‘pus’, *jizla*- ‘cry’, *jiqil*- ‘trip, fall’ (Std. Uy. *jirik*, *jiriŋ*, *jizla*-, *jiqil*-).

spoken in Qinghai and Gansu: Baonan and Santa (Dongxiang) *-ŋ* corresponds to *-n* elsewhere in Mongolic: Baonan, Santa *doloŋ* ‘seven’; Monguor, Shera Yogur *dolo:n*; Khalkha, Dagur *dolo:*.

## 6. INTERLINGUAL VS. EXTRALINGUAL FEATURES

Despite, then, centuries of intensive contact, the two principle language varieties under investigation here have undergone largely separate, language-internal changes. Superficially similar developments, such as consonant prothesis resulting in a high frequency of CV syllables in both Qumul Uyghur and Chinese, actually were differently motivated. Although the change was likely facilitated historically by contact with Turkic and Mongolic, the strong trend of Qumul Chinese to a CV structure is common to most all varieties of Northwestern Chinese. Qumul Uyghur does not, actually, display a clear trend towards CV structure, as we have seen above.

Still, there are some examples of convergence, such as final *-n*-deletion (in Qumul Chinese and Uyghur), the suppletion of *-n* by *-ŋ* (Qumul Chinese and peripheral Mongolic languages), and certain lexical items common to the Qumul Uyghur and Chinese. Such areal features show that Qumul rests, not surprisingly, at the overlap point of two linguistic areas: *-n*-deletion links Qumul with the Gansu (Hexi) corridor, southern Gansu, and eastern Qinghai, while the shared lexical features tie Qumul to the Turkic world immediately westwards. The relative isolation of Qumul from the Uyghur-speaking and Northwest Chinese-speaking centers, as well as their resistance to convergence with each other, has facilitated the preservation of a number of archaisms in both language varieties.

Phonological and morphological convergence is more likely among typologically similar languages, e.g. Turkic and Mongolic, as we have seen above (where under Mongolic influence Qumul Uyghur permits *o*, *ø* in non-initial syllables). Finally, in addition to the innovations one expects in isolated language varieties, some of the apparent innovations in Qumul Uyghur and Chinese are developments common to certain languages within the relevant language family (Turkic or Chinese) which later diverged somewhat in isolation, e.g. Qumul Chinese *l~n* in various environments is widespread not only in northwest China but also in the Southwest; Qumul Uyghur *-do* is found in Salar, Qazaq, and Qırghız, albeit with functional differences.

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